l: Karsten--287-288 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 714 (1928-29)

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288]ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtails, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtails or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

I: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle, [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

"We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguañchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

4: Up de Graff--264-265 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 714

"We lit fires round our shelter, as the Jívaros themselves had done, and sat up for many an hour, spectators of the weirdest scene I have ever witnessed.

Tuhuimpui arrived at our shelter with a great gourd full of what looked for all the world like chutney sauce.

'We are going to paint,' he announced. A short interrogation sufficed to satisfy myself that this was huito, a kind of giant walnut, of which the outer shell contains a stain or dye, in just the same way as a butternut or a black walnut. The thorny root of a palm is used as a grater to reduce the outer shell to pulp. With this the skin can be dyed jet-black, simply by rubbing it in in the wet state. All the Jívaro tribes use it to paint themselves for battle, and are indeed loath to attack without doing so. It may be that they want a distinguishing sign so that in the excitement and confusion of the fight in close country a glance will suffice to tell friend from foe. I think, however, that this is a very unlikely explanation of the custom. [265] It is more probably a part of the usual panoply of war in which all savage tribes indulge.

The same huito is used extensively in the small towns, villages, and posts of Ecuador and Peru bordering on the Jívaro territory, by half-castes who are not as dark as the Indians, nor yet as light as the Spanish. They (chiefly women) stain their faces, necks, arms and hands with it in the belief that when it comes off it takes some of the black with it! They go about their ordinary occupations with it on, it being accepted by all as powder is on the beach. So durable is the stain that only time will bring it off; three weeks

or a month are required to efface it altogether. This temporary sacrifice of appearance is willingly made in their desire to cast off the taint of Indian blood.

We all readily agreed to paint up in preparation for the attack on the morrow. So we stripped, determined to do the thing thoroughly, and each saw to it that his companions did not overlook any odd corners. Even Jack's bald spot did not escape attention. The effect of the application of this dye is not immediately apparent. So it was not till morning that we noticed any change in our appearance. The rising sun, however, revealed to us the full possibilities of huito. Not only our skin, but even our hair and eyes seemed to have changed color overnight. We laughed till we were nearly sick. The Jivaros hearing the uproar, thought we were having a war-dance of our own. Tuhuimpui came over and inspected us, surveying with a face unmoved a scene the absurdity of which no white man could have resisted."

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [570] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [570] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other. Hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [464] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by [175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
•714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[264] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

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175 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño; because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untsi*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tunurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[796] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremo-
[727] nial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The